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AUGUST—OCTOBER, 1899.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

Correspondence respecting East African Slavery.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPER.

("AFRICA NO. 8, 1899").

THIS last Blue Book on the Slavery question in Zanzibar and Pemba, was published in August, in continuation of the papers issued in July 1898, and covers a period of nearly eleven months, from June 1898 to May 1899. It is difficult to understand why there is so much delay in printing and making public these interesting and important papers, which relate entirely to events which happened many months before, the last letter of the series bearing a date fully three months earlier than the publication.

The report which these letters give of the progress made in carrying out the Decree of 1897 is distinctly more satisfactory and encouraging than that of last year. The advance, though exceedingly slow in point of numbers of slaves freed, seems to be real; the Government make it clear that they are definitely committed to an anti-slavery policy, (which certainly has not always been apparent from their attitude on the questions which have arisen) and the officials, even those who were most out-spoken in opposing and condemning what they called "the anti-slavery faction," write favourably of the improved condition of things. The troubles anticipated as the result of Emancipation have not taken place. There is a much less bitter tone in these letters towards those from whose opinions the writers differ, and, speaking generally, an absence of the personal element which disfigured the Blue Book of which this is a continuation.

Mr. Farler's reference to the cordial relations existing between the Government officials and the various Missions (see page 170) will be read with satisfaction.

The numbers of slaves actually freed by the Courts are indeed very small, especially in the island of Zanzibar, where the total for the year 1898 only reaches 484;—(it is not far-fetched to attribute the greater energy of the Pemba slaves in applying for their liberty in no small degree to the influence of the Friends' Industrial Mission at Banani)—but a more satisfactory relation has been established between the Arab employers and the slave-class. The Reports from both islands show that a real reform has been effected in

the adoption by the employers of the practice of paying money wages to the labourers for the amount of work done; this has proved advantageous to employed and employers alike.

THE LABOUR QUESTION.

The important question of labour is touched upon by many of the writers in this correspondence, and in a more hopeful strain than of old.

Mr. Farler plainly says that the employers must "help themselves, and recognise that slave labour is doomed, and that they must turn to free labour." Last year's clove crop was unexpectedly good, in spite of serious drought in the early part of the year, and it is expected that the present season will prove a record one. The valuable reports on the island of Pemba, from which we print long extracts, show that the clove-picking was much more satisfactorily done than ever before, and this, the Vice-Consul says, "goes far to justify the belief of those who claimed that the abolition of slavery in Pemba would prove advantageous eventually, even as regards the material prosperity of the island."

Sir Lloyd Mathews states his belief that "gradual Emancipation may also finally settle the question of labour."

Mr. Commissioner Last also discusses the labour question in his Report, and describes in some detail the different modes of working an estate, which he endeavours to put before land or slave-owners. In default of the method of paying regular wages in cash to all labourers, which Mr. Last says is, on account of the poverty of the owners, "scarcely practicable though very desirable," he commends the plan of dividing the estate into several small farms:

"The second system, that of letting out the land to small holders at a rent of one-third of the produce, paid in value or kind, is very practicable, and in the north part of the island large portions of several estates are let out in this manner. The land is used chiefly for growing rice and other cereals, cassava, sweet potatoes, various kinds of beans and other produce.

"This manner of working an estate has the advantage of tending to instil a spirit of independence and self-reliance, and it might induce him to throw aside that love of indolence which is one of the greatest curses of the East African, whether slave or free."

The Reports from Pemba also show that means have been successfully adopted to check this inborn dislike for work, and to stimulate even the plantation labourers (who are described by one writer as the most unintelligent and helpless of all slaves), to habits of energy and providence.

Sir A. Hardinge, it is true, writes in a different strain regarding labour difficulties on the mainland, where he says that the State, by the high wages it offers on the Uganda Railway, the Government, and the Missions, all contribute to prevent the shamba owners in the Mombasa district from getting either free or slave labour, so that they are "in a very bad way indeed." But it is well known that the two systems of free labour and slave labour cannot coexist, and

the favourable results of Emancipation in the islands, where the employers have been led to adapt themselves to the altered conditions with the success described, are encouraging for the adoption of a like policy on the mainland.

NATIVE OFFICIALS.

As regards the administration of the 1897 Decree by native Walis, which the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has often adversely criticised, an improvement seems to have been effected. In Pemba the Walis are practically superseded, and in Zanzibar most applications for freedom are ultimately referred to British officials. Regarding these native functionaries in Zanzibar, Mr. Last reports as follows :—

“Regarding their duties in reference to the abolition of the status of slavery, I have every reason to believe that they have done their best, and as well as any officials would have done in their circumstances. I have made frequent visits to the Lewalis and others during the year, but I have not once heard of a case in which a slave, rightly applying for freedom to any one of the Walis, has been refused, and in which he did not, after hearing the case, send the person to town to be given freedom. During the course of the year several slaves have applied to me for freedom. These were always sent to town, and their cases being heard, I believe in every instance freedom was obtained. It would be out of place for me here to give the number of slaves freed during the last year, seeing that all freed slaves are registered in town, and their numbers will be given in the Report of the town officials.

“I must here state that the Lewalis are not at all responsible for the number of slaves set free in their districts, be it great or small; the whole matter rests entirely with the slaves. There are none who do not know of the means by which they can become free if they wish, and it rests with themselves to decide whether they will avail themselves of the blessings of freedom or not.”

We notice a misapprehension on the part of two of the official writers as to the policy advocated by this Society. Mr. Alexander, one of the Sultan's officers, refers to “the summary method advocated by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY of freeing every one at once by a stroke of the pen,” which would, he says, “inflict great hardship and misery on numbers of slaves who are at present happy and contented.” It ought to be well known that the Society has not advocated the compulsory emancipation of every slave at once, as this reference implies, but the abolition of the legal status of slavery, so that every slave who wishes to be free can exercise his freedom unhindered, while the “happy and contented” slaves can stay on with their master if they will, though they can no longer be regarded or claimed as slaves in the eye of the law. Mr. Farler makes a similar mistake if he is referring to the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY when he writes :

“If some of our more enthusiastic friends could have had their way, we should have had immediate and absolute emancipation on a given day,” and he

goes on to picture the disastrous results which would have followed such an event.

So much for the general working of the Decree of 1897, as to which we publish below what are for us the most important passages of the Official Reports *in extenso*.

We now proceed to a few comments on the Correspondence, somewhat more in detail, for the benefit of those readers who have not seen the original Blue Book.

CHILDREN BORN SINCE 1889.

The first few letters of the Correspondence relate to the Engagement made in 1889 by the Sultan Seyyid Khalifa that all children born in the Sultanate after January 1st, 1890, should be free, and they show that the Government has now—none too soon—taken a firm stand on this question. The Engagement was kept secret and has never been observed, and the local lawyers and officials contended that the law, having never been promulgated, could not be held binding. This view Lord Salisbury, writing on May 9th, 1898, refused to accept, holding it “impossible at this date to go back upon the Agreement of 1889.” Sir Arthur Hardinge accordingly proposed, in reply, to issue a notification in English and Arabic, to be circulated among the various authorities concerned, declaring that the Agreement referred to was valid and operative, while he at the same time informed the Sultan’s officials that no compensation should thereafter be paid for children born since January 1st, 1890.

The Consul-General, in the first dispatch of the Correspondence before us, states his belief that no widespread or serious injury would be done to the children whose interests would be affected by the enforcement of the Agreement, though he cannot forbear a reference to the fate of the children belonging to poorer slave-owners, who would probably be turned out of doors, and who (though “a little homeless negro waif in East Africa is not as badly off as a white child similarly situated in Europe”) must, he fears, suffer in some degree from the anti-slavery policy of the Government.

The ironical reference, too, to the position of slave children on the death of their master is characteristic:

“The chief danger these children have to fear from the enforcement of the Agreement lies in cases where their master dies, leaving several sons and daughters, and they are claimed before the Courts (on the mainland) by his various legal heirs. If the Courts treat the Agreement as a valid Decree, they must in such a case face its consequences and free the children, who will thus become masterless and homeless, until, tempted by hunger to theft, they find a new home and begin a new and less pleasant form of servitude within the walls of the Protectorate gaol. The Missions, as I have stated above, may help to mitigate the evil, and the Courts might be asked to send homeless freed children to them.”

We notice that Sir Arthur Hardinge, at the close of this letter, refers to the working of the Abolition Decree as "a radical and rapid social change, . . . through which these countries are being forced." Sir Arthur appears to stand alone in considering the change rapid, as the point to which other officials refer with marked approval is the *gradual* process of emancipation and the *slow* working of the change.

We print Lord Salisbury's important reply to Sir Arthur Hardinge's despatch in full :—

"No. 3.

"THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY TO SIR A. HARDINGE.

"FOREIGN OFFICE, July 27, 1898.

"SIR,

"I have received your despatches of the 13th and 18th ultimo, which relate to the question of the validity of the Agreement signed by Seyyid Khalifa in 1889, and deal specially with the effect of the clause which declares that all children born in the Zanzibar dominions after the 1st January, 1890, shall be free.

"I note with satisfaction that the Government of His Highness the Sultan has, on your advice, given instructions that no compensation is to be paid by the Courts for any children born since that date, on behalf of whom it may be claimed by those who have considered themselves to be their owners, and that all such claimants will be informed that compensation is refused, in view of the provisions of Seyyid Khalifa's Agreement with Her Majesty's Government.

"With regard to any public Notification of the insistence by Her Majesty's Government on the validity of that Agreement, the arguments advanced by Mr. Craufurd, as set forth in your despatch of the 18th June, appear to Her Majesty's Government to justify the temporary postponement of such a step, in consequence of the state of famine at present prevailing in the Seyyidieh Province.

"As soon, however, as this exceptional condition of affairs has ceased to exist, and the food supplies have recovered their normal character, you should acquaint me with the fact, and should take steps for the public Notification of the views of Her Majesty's Government both in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and on the mainland.

"Since it is very important that there should be in the future no doubt as to the validity of Seyyid Khalifa's Agreement, it is the hope of Her Majesty's Government that these conditions may very shortly be realized.

"In connection with the question of compensation, it will be well for you to strengthen the hands of the Sultan's Government by reminding them that, under clause 4 of the Decree of 1890, slaves may be inherited at the death of their owner only by the lawful children of the deceased; and that, if the owner leaves no such children, his slaves shall, *ipso facto*, become free on the death of their owner.

"The information in my possession does not enable me to say whether this provision was fulfilled in the case reported in your despatch of the 9th February, which gave rise to the present correspondence. Her Majesty's Government trust that the effect of the Notification at no distant date of the Agreement of 1889 will not be attended with the consequences to the children which you apprehend; and the considerations to which you draw attention in the case of the richer Arabs seem to them likely in practice to find an even wider application. Should, however, any children be left suddenly without home or master, it would appear to be in the power of the Courts, without receiving any fresh or special instructions, to make such dispositions for their welfare as may seem best at the moment, whether by making some sort of contractual arrangement of a voluntary and terminable character between child and master, such as has already been made in many cases between full-grown freed slaves and their late masters, or by sending the children to some missionary or charitable institution. In the former case, care would of course be required to avoid sanctioning any measure that might be interpreted as bestowing upon the masters any revival of rights which, under the terms of Seyyid Khalifa's Agreement as henceforward to be enforced, would have long ceased to exist.

"In this connection, I should be glad of your opinion as to the desirability and cost of a Government institution, either in Zanzibar or elsewhere, at which children who were left homeless could be received and trained to different trades and callings of a practical nature.

"I am, &c.,
(Signed) "SALISBURY."

In September Sir Arthur Hardinge wrote that there was no reason for delaying the Notification to be made in the mainland provinces, and it was accordingly issued in October. The freedom given by this document is, as is pointed out by Mr. Howe in a recent letter to the *Daily Chronicle*, only permissive, the initiative being expressly left to the young slaves themselves, or rather to their parents or friends, Sir Arthur having feared to disturb the Arabs by a fresh General Proclamation on the slavery question. It is very important, therefore, that this notification should be widely circulated and made known among the whole population. The form of the document was as follows :—

"Inclosure 2 in No. 10.

"NOTIFICATION.

"Whereas His late Highness Seyyid Khalifa-bin-Saïd agreed on the 13th September, 1889, with Her Majesty's then Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, that all persons born in his dominions after the 1st January, 1890, should be free ;

"And whereas some doubt has arisen, owing to the non-publication of this Agreement in His Highness' mainland dominions, whether it is valid and operative in them ;

"It is hereby declared by Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the East Africa Protectorate, under authority from Her Majesty's Government, that the said Agreement is valid and operative in the aforesaid mainland dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, and that no person born subsequent to the 1st January, 1890, can be legally claimed as a slave within them.

(Signed) "ARTHUR H. HARDINGE,

"Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General.

"ZANZIBAR, October 17, 1898."

HOMELESS CHILDREN, &c.

An important matter is touched upon in the last sentence of Lord Salisbury's letter quoted above, viz., the employment of homeless freed children.

The Consul-General wrote in September, 1898, that he considered the establishment of an unsectarian institution for maintaining such orphans and teaching them trades, under Government supervision, was quite feasible. He estimated the initial cost of such an institution at about £1,000, and its yearly maintenance at the same sum. Meanwhile he suggested that such children should be sent to the Government shamba at Tundawa in Pemba, which is briefly described in later despatches. About 50 native children are happily settled on this shamba, living either with their own or adopted parents who themselves work on the plantation. The older children do light work on the plantations, and all are taught at a small day-school under the Universities' Mission. It is proposed to send homeless children from the mainland to this shamba, where they could be housed, fed, clothed and taught for about £6 each per annum.

The Tundawa plantation received about 600 fugitive slaves during 1898, of whom 55 per cent. are described as "useless, infirm, or bad characters," while 20 per cent. are "healthy and industrious," and 15 per cent. "fairly useful," the remaining 10 per cent. being young persons and children.

Good work seems to have been done in employing these people in house-building, rope-making, and clove-cultivating ; they work for three days in the week free, in return for cultivating rights, while on the other three days the market rate of wages is given.

In Zanzibar small establishments have been opened for lepers, and for destitute and infirm slaves, which are described by Sir Lloyd Mathews.

THE CASE OF KOMBO.

The letters which relate to the case of the slave girl Kombo give no information which we were not already in possession of. The circumstances of the

case have been fully set forth in these pages, and the official belief that the slaves were anxious to return to their master in order to get food was shown to be quite erroneous. A telegram embodying the decision of the Government on the question of handing back slaves was sent to Zanzibar in February last, to the following effect :—

[Telegraphic.]

“FOREIGN OFFICE, *February 11, 1899, Midnight.*

“MAINLAND SLAVERY.

“Her Majesty’s Government have decided : (a) That no British official shall hand back slaves ; (b) that Native Courts will not be deprived of any powers they exercised before the Proclamation of 1890, but in every case the master will be compelled to prove clearly that the slave has been, and is, legally owned.

“Instruct officers accordingly.”

These instructions show no advance on the previous practice, for the so-called “Native” Courts are, as Bishop Tucker points out in his last letter to *The Times*, native only in name, and the local slavery customs are really recognised and administered by *British* officials, administering justice in Her Majesty’s name.

We gladly note, however, a statement made by Mr. Craufurd as to the readiness of the officials to go as far as they can, under the conditions by which they are bound, in discouraging slavery, and it is not more than would have been expected from Englishmen and Officers of the British Crown.

Mr. Craufurd writes to Sir A. Hardinge :—

“There is, as you are well aware, a good deal of steady, unostentatious anti-slavery work done by the officers of this Protectorate ; and not only in the Courts of First Instance, but in those of Appeal, have a considerable number of slaves obtained their freedom. In this connection I would refer to the Rev. Mr. F. Burt, Church Missionary Society, now in England, as a witness of the readiness of the Courts to grant freedom when such can be given without an actual violation of the law.”

RUNAWAY SLAVES.

Into the question of runaway slaves and their protection by missionaries, which occupies several pages of “Africa No. 8,” we do not propose to enter at any length. The subject is one which seems always to provoke official acrimony and sarcasm, and the Consul-General deeply resents what he has called the “unfair competition of rich missions” with the Arab employers of labour. The Rev. H. K. Binns, of the Church Missionary Society, wrote at the end of last year a spirited reply to Sir Arthur Hardinge’s strictures (which is here published), rebutting his charges, and denying that “lazy vagabond slaves had found chartered sanctuaries on the Mission lands,” as Sir Arthur had stated.

Mr. Binns goes on to state that Government action had placed every white man in the country in a false position :—

“He was looked upon as a friend of the slave, and, to a certain extent, was bound to pose as such, and yet he could do little to help them in a lawful way, hence our hands have been, to a certain extent, forced, and as our sympathies have always been with the slaves, it is not difficult to see how this matter of runaway slaves has reached such large proportions and become such a complex question—it can only find its solution in the total abolition of slavery.

“It is an easy matter for you and the slave-owners to lay all these troubles at the missionaries’ door, but what about the slaves who run away to go elsewhere, what about the hundreds who joined Mbarak, or those at Makongeni, and other similar places, or those who go up as porters and never return to their masters, and who eventually reach the towns in the German territory? I think, in common justice, you ought to say that the slave will run away whether the missionary receives him or not, and has been doing so for generations; and allow me to add my conviction, apart from the legal question, that it is better that the slave should go to the Mission than elsewhere; he is thereby helped to be a better man, as can be proved by hundreds of cases, and therefore a more useful member of society.”

A long letter follows, addressed by Sir Arthur Hardinge to Mr. Binns, going into the whole question of the past harbouring of runaways by mission stations, and the action of the I. B. E. A. Company and the Government in regard to it. The important point is, that it is now authoritatively decided that the Government was acting illegally in forcing missionaries to surrender slaves, and this Sir Arthur Hardinge admits. Referring to the year 1897 he writes :—

“Meanwhile, the question of slavery on the mainland had engaged the attention of Parliament, owing to the pledge given by Her Majesty’s Government to abolish it in Zanzibar, and, in consequence of a statement made by the Attorney-General in the course of a debate, I received orders from home to cease from arresting and restoring slaves even within the Sultan’s territory on the sole ground that they were fugitives. The Attorney-General’s opinion that such arrest and restoration were illegal, which was the original ground of this instruction, was, as you will see by the latest Blue Book, considerably modified on an examination by the Law Officers of the peculiar local laws of this country, but the old practice was not reverted to. . .”

The following extract from the same letter is also noteworthy, as showing that persistent efforts at home against recognition of “local custom,” and in favour of a broad anti-slavery policy are not without effect on the Powers that be :—

“The Arabs quite understand that outside the Sultan’s border they cannot recover their slaves, but what they complain of is that we will not

enforce their legal rights, which we have pledged ourselves to do, in places like Rabai, &c., which are in the Zanzibar territory. And the unwillingness of the Government to allow us to enforce these rights is the result, in some degree at least, of the influence of the Missions and of the efforts of their representatives at home."

In a somewhat acrimonious postscript to this letter, Sir Arthur Hardinge adverts, *more suo*, to Bishop Tucker's forcible letter to *The Times* early in this year (which appeared in our January-February issue):—

"I do not think it necessary to discuss his Lordship's attacks on myself individually, as these are personal matters which do not touch the question of principle. He seems to think it a brave thing to 'dare to criticise the policy of the Consul-General,' by which I suppose he means that of her Majesty's Government (since in the nature of things I can have no policy apart from theirs), as if this were not done every day by every writer in the Opposition press.

"To declaim against British officials for tolerating slavery may have needed some courage in the time of Wilberforce and Clarkson; it is but a cheap and hackneyed road to popularity to-day. He has evidently misunderstood the Attorney-General's exposition of the law; it is given very fully in Lord Salisbury's despatch to me of the 15th June, which appears in the Blue Book under discussion."

We now give the text of the most important parts of the Despatches which embody the Official Reports of the working of the Decree during the year 1898-9.

SIR A. HARDINGE TO THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY.

Received April 15th.

(No. 27.)

ZANZIBAR, *March 24th*, 1899.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to transmit herewith, in continuation of my despatch of the 23rd April last,* a copy of a Report with its inclosures which I have received from Sir Lloyd Mathews on the subject of the working during the past year of the Decree abolishing the legal status of slavery.

Sir Lloyd encloses Reports from Mr. Last and Archdeacon Farler, the two Commissioners appointed to supervise the execution of the Decree in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba respectively, and from Mr. Alexander, who, as Assistant Treasurer to the Sultan's Government, has most experience of its practical working in the capital. . . .

Your Lordship will observe from Mr. Farler's Report that he has practically superseded the Pemba Walis, though they still sit formally with him,

* See "Africa No. 6 (1898)," No. 29.

as District Magistrate in all matter affecting slavery, and there is, therefore, in Pemba at least, no longer any ground for the complaint made at first by critics of the Decree that its administration was left entirely in the hands of Arab Judges of doubtful impartiality and good faith.

If Mr. Last interferes somewhat less actively in this island, it is (*a*) because the Zanzibar Walis are both younger and more modern-minded men, and therefore need less guidance and supervision; and (*b*) because the majority of cases in the three Zanzibar districts, and all those in which the question of compensation arises, are ultimately referred to Sir Lloyd Mathews and Mr. Alexander at the capital. Many slaves in this island come, in fact, direct into town without troubling to go, as they should strictly do by law, to the Wali of their district, and in order to simplify the work as much as possible, in accordance with your Lordship's instructions, the English town officials take these cases at once.

I have written so fully both in my last year's Report† and in previous despatches on the whole question of the abolition of slavery in these islands, and my views on the subject are so well known to your Lordship, that I do not propose to supplement by any comments of my own the remarks contained in the inclosed papers. I should merely wish to draw attention to one circumstance in connection with the indifference displayed by the slave population to the formal grant of freedom, on which stress has not, as yet, so far as I can remember, been laid. A slave freed by his master, either as a reward for good service, or as an act of piety, almost always receives from him, together with his freedom, a substantial present. If the Arab is a landowner he will give the slave the freehold of an allotment on which to maintain himself and his family in his new condition; if not, he will bestow on him a sum of money with which to start as a freeman.

I do not say that the practice is universal, but it is very general among the better classes, and I have been often struck, when reading, in connection with legal cases which came before me, the wills of Arabs, by the minute care with which they make provision out of land or money for the future maintenance of the various slaves whom they direct their executors to manumit.

The Courts, on the other hand, when they free a slave, give him only a certificate, which at one time, before the legal enforcement of slavery was abolished, he could make a few rupees of by selling to a fellow slave, but which, now that any one who chooses to apply for it can have it for the asking, has lost all market value. The slave, therefore, who has a fairly good master, and who knows that the moment he is dissatisfied with that master he can leave him with less warning than a servant would give in England, often prefers to wait the chance of being freed by him with some material advantage, such as that which I have described, rather than hasten to get a bare certificate—in his eyes, of no practical benefit to him—from a Magistrate.

† See "Africa No. 3 (1899)."

For this and other reasons given by the Commissioners, it may, I think, well be that for many years to come, and until native feeling has undergone a considerable change, persons for whom no compensation would be given—such as children born after 1890, and therefore free even before the late Decree—will continue, so long as they find it suits them to do so, to call themselves the “slaves” of the Arabs on whose lands or in whose houses they reside, and to live very much as they did under the old system. At the same time, it is probable that every year will witness a considerable increase in the number of slaves actually freed by the Courts as distinct from those who remain with their masters under only slightly modified conditions.

Thus, the total number of slaves who actually received freedom papers from the Courts during the present year, reckoning from April to April, had already in February considerably exceeded that for last year, and amounted (deducting the ninety freed in the first quarter of last year, which is given as if it belonged to this year in the Government Report, and the 795 freed by owners) to 2,800 for ten months of the year 1898–99 as compared with 1,392 during the entire twelve months of the previous year. The number of freedom papers granted by the Courts has, therefore, already more than doubled during the present year, whilst, as a result of the measures adopted last autumn by the Government at the time of the clove harvest, contracts and wages have almost everywhere superseded the old arrangements, even in plantations, where the so-called slaves have not cared to take the trouble of asking for freedom papers. It may, in fact, I think, be safely stated, whatever may be said about the difference between the abolition of slavery and the abolition of the legal status, or recognition of slavery—and the distinction has never seemed to me to be a very important one—that **slavery, in so far as it connotes compulsory or involuntary labour, has entirely ceased to exist.** It is important, I think, to accentuate this point, as, to judge by articles and speeches published in the press, considerable misapprehension appears still to exist with regard to it.

There is one other point in connection with this subject on which I ought to touch—the question of utilizing the Government shamba at Tundawa (to which reference is made in Sir L. Mathews’ Report, and which Mr. Cave has described in his despatch of the 7th instant as a refuge for young children from the mainland, who may become homeless owing to the operation in their case of one or other of the various anti-slavery laws. I discussed this question with Sir Lloyd Mathews, and he is prepared to take as many children as we care to send him from the East Africa Protectorate, and to house, feed, and clothe them, besides teaching them reading, writing, and a trade, for 4d. a-day a-head, or about £6 a-year. Assuming that only 50 such children are rendered homeless in a year (for, as I have already said, I believe many respectable Arab masters would continue to look after them even after they were declared free, so that all so freed need not be thrown on charity), this gives an annual expenditure of about £300 on these little freed-men.

I visited yesterday, with Sir Lloyd Mathews, the little Settlements near Zanzibar for lepers, destitute old people, infirm freed slaves, and other objects of charity which he mentions in his Report, and was very agreeably impressed with the good work which is already being done there.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 27.

MR. J. P. FARLER TO SIR LL. MATHEWS.

CHAKI CHAKI, PEMBA, *January 31st, 1899.*

SIR,

I have the honour in obedience to your instructions to submit a Report on the working of the Decree of the 1st Zilkada, 1315, abolishing the legal status of slavery, during the past year in the Island of Pemba.

Since my last Annual Report the Decree has come into full operation, and we have now fair data to go upon as to how it will work in the future.

During the first four months of the year 1898, comparatively few slaves applied for the registration of their freedom. This was in some measure owing to an idea held by many of them that it was necessary to prove cruelty against their masters in order to obtain their freedom; and partly to the fact that there was no regular Court-house, and they were not quite certain where to go.

In April, the Commissioner's house was finished, and the Court-room which formed part of it opened. From that time the Wali and the Commissioner sat regularly with the exception of Sundays and Fridays. The slaves soon began to arrive, coming from all parts of the island, from Msuka in the north, to Fufuni in the south.

It was found that by simplifying as much as possible the process of taking marks and measurements for identification, it was possible to free about twenty a-day, but it depended a good deal upon the intelligence of the slaves themselves, as some of them seemed incapable of giving an intelligent answer.

The highest number reached in one day was twenty-five.

At 9 a.m. the doors of the Court are opened, and the slaves waiting are admitted. If there are more than twenty the remainder are given tickets assuring them the first turn on the following day. If there are more than forty waiting (which happened once or twice at first), the third twenty get tickets for the third day. For some time lately the numbers applying do not average more than twenty a day—sometimes there are not even ten.

One day in each month is set apart for paying compensations, and every afternoon Arabs and others can come about their slaves who have been freed. The Court is at all times ready to draw agreements between masters and slaves when they request it.

In the four months from May to August, the numbers applying were the highest. Thus in April 52 adults were freed, in May the number increased to

140, and in August reached 228. This is exclusive of children, and of those slaves who made contracts with their masters to remain on their shambas as free labourers. No compensation is paid for children.

As soon as it was realized by the shamba proprietors that this was to be a record year for cloves, they began to be anxious about labour, and with the usual exaggeration of our Arab friends, they came crying loudly that all their slaves were leaving them, and that their cloves would have no one to gather them, and that they would be ruined.

There was no doubt that the future of the country depended very much upon what happened in the shambas this first year of emancipation, independently of the Arabs being able to pay off their mortgages to the Indians, and save their shambas. This year would give the key note to the future years.

The Walis and myself, and other Arabs, held many anxious conferences as to the best thing to be done. The Government was desirous of helping them to the best of its power, if they would only help themselves, and recognise that slave labour was doomed, and that they must turn to free labour.

When your letter came authorizing me to announce to the Arabs that His Highness the Sultan's Government strongly advised them to make contracts with their slaves for the picking of the cloves at the market rate of wages, so that they might retain such labour as they had for the harvest, and where they had not enough labour on their own shambas to engage freed slaves and other at the same rate, we were very glad and felt that the situation was saved.

This was soon announced by letters from the Walis all over the island; and Regulations and Rules, such as paying every night in pice, no one to pay in kind, &c., were drawn up. I cannot say this advice was at first popular, and many said they should pay no attention to it. People who had hitherto been accustomed to unpaid labour could not bring themselves in a moment to see the beauty of paid labour, and they believed that it would mean ruin to them. It was pointed out to them that on all the Government shambas labour was paid for, and it was found to be so superior to slave labour that instead of a loss there was a profit. After a while, the force of circumstances was too strong for them, and they gradually fell in with the idea, and began making contracts with their slaves. The slaves were highly delighted at the news, and accepted gratefully the new arrangement, the immediate effect being that they almost ceased coming for their freedom.

The clove harvest commenced in September, and during that month only 75 adults applied for their freedom compared with 228 freed in August.

A few old-fashioned Arabs held out, and loudly protested against this "robbery" of their slave-labour; but upon their slaves promptly going off to some other shamba where wages were being paid, and finding they had no lawful power to bring them back, they thought it wise to give way under protest, and do as others did. One or two obstinate old gentlemen have lost the greater part of their crop through holding out, and now they are sorry for it.

All freed slaves who had no regular work were ordered to look for work in

the shambas and pick cloves, the Court making contracts for them at the Government rate of pay.

Many freed slaves who had been settled on Government shambas, or assigned to the various missions, took advantage of this new state of things, and went off to the nearest shamba where the cloves were ready, without troubling themselves to obtain permission from, or say farewell to, their new protectors.

Towards the end of the year the competition for labour increased, and the price rose from 3 pice a pishi, to 4, 5, and even 6 pice.

The British Indians who, now that they can avail themselves of free labour, are either buying shambas or foreclosing their mortgages, entered keenly into this competition for labour. At first they tried the truck system, but the labourers complained that they were not fairly dealt with, and preferred to work where they were paid regularly in cash.

In the months of September and October the Wali and I visited the principal clove shambas to find out whether there was fair dealing all round, for the African needs quite as much looking after as the Arab.

We everywhere received a kindly welcome, and as soon as we stopped we were busily engaged in drawing up contracts between masters and men. I made it a point to ask each slave separately if they wished to make the agreement, but they all seemed eager to do so.

I then wrote down their names in a book, and the names of their master. Then the Wali and I signed it as witnesses. Our visit seemed to be greatly appreciated, and we had more invitations than we could possibly accept. Frequently while riding along the road we saw a group of slaves with their master waiting at a cross road, having come from some outlying shamba, in order that the Sirkar might draw up their contract. At one place where several roads met, we found about 200 slaves, a number of Arabs and their attendants, with brilliantly saddled donkeys waiting for us under the shade of some big mango trees, forming a most picturesque group.

It was fortunate I had my tent with me, for through these unexpected delays we never quite know where sunset would find us. Here and there we came across Arabs inclined to grumble at having to pay wages to their slaves. I could not help feeling somewhat indignant with them, and said, "Surely God has blessed you this year, and filled your breasts with joy at the bountiful harvest. Why should you grudge your slaves a share in this joy?" I think they were a little ashamed.

There is no doubt the slaves are having a good time of it this year, for I saw many little shops newly sprung up along the road near the clove shambas, selling fresh fish and meat, and other dainties dear to the African, and we constantly met people going home carrying fish or meat, and other things. The women have been replenishing their wardrobes, and buying such gorgeous coloured cloths, and wonderful turbans, that the eye is quite dazzled by them.

The Arabs are beginning to find out that the new system entails far less worry and loss upon them than the old.

In former times the slaves were provided with food during the clove harvest, and the result was that they were never satisfied either with the quality or quantity of the food provided. This led to sulking and insubordination, and sometimes to a strike. The latter was repressed with the stick, causing continual anxiety to the master. Then, as there was no advantage in working hard, the object of the slave was to do as little as possible, so that half the cloves on a shamba were never picked, and a dead loss to the owner.

But under the new arrangement all this is changed—the slave works by piece-work, and the more work they do the more pice they get, therefore they work hard; pice being, as an Arab said to me, the best overseer.

In the old times a slave picked from three to six pishi of cloves a day, and rested two days a week. Now many of them pick ten, twelve, and fifteen pishi a day, whilst two men told me they had picked twenty pishi a day, but this is very exceptional.

An Arab with a large shamba tells me that he has never before harvested such a quantity of cloves as he has this year, and, moreover, hitherto many cloves have remained on the trees unpicked until they were spoiled, while this year every tree has been clean picked.

It must not be supposed that all the slaves and freed slaves have worked satisfactorily this year. Many would do just enough to keep body and soul alive; while others would work well for a little time, but, as soon as they had earned a few rupees, leave their work, and go off to the town until they had spent it.

This has been checked as kindly and firmly as possible by arresting all found in the town without a house or work, and sending them back to the shambas. I believe some of the more provident have saved money, and I have heard of one man who has bought himself a small shamba out of his earnings, but this, I fear, is a solitary exception.

I think there has been some exaggeration about the number of slaves held in Pemba. From general observation I should say there were not more than 20,000 or 25,000 shamba slaves; it is impossible to get at any idea of the number of the domestic house servants.

The Wapemba on the east coast have a good number of slaves, but as they form part of the household, and live as members of the family, they show little or no desire to leave their owners.

I am glad to say the relationship between the Government Officials and the various Missions has been most friendly and cordial during the past year, and the missionaries have shown every desire to be helpful.

The Roman Catholics have commenced Mission work on their shamba, Dongoni, adjoining Banani, Father Schmitz being in charge, with a lay-brother as his assistant. He has offered to take charge of any children and people who cannot stand alone, and will, therefore, be very helpful to the Government.

The Universities' Mission has commenced work in its new shamba at Kisimbani, Weti, and has already commenced educational work, the school being attended by Arab and Swahili children, as well as African.

The Friends' Mission at Banani and in Chak Chak has made great progress during the past year. I have been able to assign to it a large number of freed slaves, who, whenever I have been at Banani, seem happy and contented. I cannot speak too highly of the medical work done by Miss Armitage and her brother in charge of the Friends' Mission in Chak Chak. Daily she has dispensed medicines to the sick, and advised me of any destitute sick who needed help from the Government.

A varying number of sick freed slaves, and others too feeble to work, come every day to the Court, and receive an allowance of pice from my clerk.

Last year there was a considerable congestion of undecided cases waiting for consideration at Banani and on the Government shamba, Tundana; but these have all now been disposed of and the slaves registered. Any cases there may be now are those of recent arrivals.

The compensations awarded by the Walis and the Commissioner the past year amount to 53,460 rupees. Of this sum 14,410 rupees were paid before the end of the year, and 10,000 rupees have been paid since, leaving a debt of about 30,000 rupees still to be paid on last year's awards.

The principles on which the compensations have been paid in Pemba are to consider 50 rupees as the average sum. Thus an able-bodied shamba hand, healthy and with full powers, is valued at 50 rupees. Physical defects, ill-health, or age, reduce this to 45 rupees or 40 rupees, or even 30 rupees, while failing powers through age, or long service, reduce it again to 20 rupees. On the other hand, for a specially powerful shamba slave the price may rise to 55 or 60 rupees. Slaves who have been trained as artisans, such as masons, carpenters, silver-smiths, &c., or females trained as house servants, cooks, ayahs, &c., range from 60 to 80 rupees. For harem women and concubines, 100 rupees.

Number of Slaves freed.—1,516 slaves have been registered as free during the past year in Pemba, and 829 more, without claiming their freedom, have made contracts with their masters by which they work for them as free labourers.

A large number of slaves have left their masters, and obtained work as free labourers without asking for their free papers or coming to be registered. These are being gradually gathered in and registered as they are pointed out by their old masters. I estimate the number of these to be about 600.

PEMBA.						
Freed by Courts—Males	...	...	...	...	...	595
Females	...	...	...	...	...	721
						1,316
Children	...	...	...	...	...	200
						1,516
Contracted with their masters as free labourers—Males	...	...	...	...	...	383
Females	...	...	...	...	...	446
						829
Total	...	...	...	...	...	2,345

Concubines.—Forty concubines have been before the Courts to ask for their freedom. Of these, twenty-five were freed with the sanction of the Courts, and in almost every case with the consent of their masters; fifteen were refused, as none of them had any valid reason for leaving their homes, and they had all been well treated. The general complaint was that they did not like the restraint of harem life, *i.e.*, they wanted to go out at nights as they pleased. Others had had some little tiff with another lady of the harem, and in a fit of temper had started off to ask for freedom. All these cases, however, were arranged to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned, and the ladies returned home with their lords.

Vagrancy, &c.—In the earlier part of the year it seemed that vagrancy would probably cause a good deal of trouble. Complaints were coming in from the Arabs that parties of runaway slaves were entering their shambas and helping themselves to as many cocoanuts as they could carry away, threatening the owners if they dared to interfere with them. A police patrol was then sent through the shambas; all vagrants were arrested.

The number of vagrants imprisoned month by month varied considerably. The number rose to fifty in June, and fell to one in October.

The following figures show the number of slaves, or freed slaves, convicted during the past year in Pemba :—

Vagrants ...	...	...	...	...	...	218
Drunkards	...	...	...	...	...	155
Thieves ...	...	...	...	...	...	204
Breaking contract	...	...	...	...	...	8
Total						585

As I witness how quietly and without any economic disturbance the evolution from slavery to freedom is going on, I feel more strongly than ever how wise the decision of the Government was for a gradual emancipation. Now the country, as it were (through the comparative slowness of the process of freeing slaves), digests them as fast as they are freed, and turns them into free labourers settled on the land.

If some of our more enthusiastic friends could have had their way, we should have had immediate and absolute emancipation on a given day. Then the whole country would have been disturbed, masses of the freed slaves would have roamed about plundering, and, before they could have been settled, they would have contracted idle and dissolute habits, which would have taken years to have freed them from, at a heavy expense to the Government, and at a loss to the country.

All who really care for the well-being of the slave, and the welfare of the country, must be thankful for the way things have turned out in the past year.

The following is a specimen of the registration of a freed slave, copied from the register :—

"31st December. 1415. Faraji. Male. Nyassa Musud-bin-Aberrahim Busaidi Ole. 10 years. Shamba. I want to be free. Age 37. Height,

5 ft. 1½ in. Arm, 1 ft. 7 in. 2 cuts left side, 1 hole each ear Small scars ; beard ; thick lips ; moustache ; hair on chest ; colour, dark brown. 50 rupees. Tundana."

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. P. FARLER.

SLAVES FREED IN ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA.

The following are the figures given by Sir Lloyd Mathews in his Official Report, dated March 17th, 1899 :—

DURING 1898.				
	Males.	Females.	In all.	
Zanzibar	223	261	484	
Pemba	595	721	1,316	
Children	—	—	220	
Slaves freed by Arab owners in Zanzibar before me and Registrar	—	—	715	
				2,735
JANUARY 1ST, 1899, TO PRESENT DATE.				
Zanzibar	—	—	238	
Pemba	—	—	632*	
Slaves freed by Arab owners in Zanzibar before me and Registrar	—	—	81	
				951
In all				3,686

COMPENSATION DUE TO OWNERS OF SLAVES AT PEMBA.

	Rupees.
Due to owners of slaves on 31st December, 1898—	
Zanzibar	Nil.
Pemba	30,000
Due from 31st December to present date (Pemba estimate) .	40,000
	70,000
Deduct for payment made during the last two months to Mr. Farler for compensation . . .	17,000
Outstanding account due for compensation .	53,000

Sir Lloyd Mathews adds: "We hope to liquidate this debt with the proceeds of the hut-tax from Zanzibar and Pemba."

In addition to these statistics, Sir Lloyd Mathews gives the number of slaves imprisoned in the islands for vagrancy, drunkenness, thefts and assaults as 2,552; of these 912 were punished for vagrancy.

Over 1,000 slaves were relieved during the year 1898 and up to March 1899 in Government Hospitals, stations, &c., in the two islands.

* [It seems difficult to reconcile these figures with those given by the Vice-Consul in Pemba, under date March 31st (see page 180). If correct, no less than 343 slaves must have been freed in Pemba during the last fortnight in March.—ED., *Reporter*.]

Inclosure 5 in No. 27.

MR. A. ALEXANDER TO SIR LL. MATHEWS.

SIR,

ZANZIBAR, *March 16th*, 1899.

I have the honour to report, in connection with the working of the Decree abolishing the legal status of slavery, that during the year ended the 31st December, 1898, the slaves who availed themselves of the terms of Decree and claimed their freedom in my office numbered 484. They were all registered.

The reports of Mr. Farler with reference to Pemba and of Mr. Last from the various districts in Zanzibar, which you have given me to read, are so complete that it is only left to me to concur with their statements. One or two remarks, however, I take the liberty of making, not in the way of a report; they are ideas on the subject of slavery in these islands, which the past year's experiences have suggested.

During the year many newspapers have contained articles or letters setting forth the views of the Anti-Slavery Society: the most prominent being their dissatisfaction at the fewness of the slaves who have claimed their freedom compared with the numbers believed to be in bondage, hinting at a want of sympathy with the Decree on the part of the officials of the Zanzibar Government, and urging the home Government to deal with the slavery in the East Coast Protectorate in a different and more summary manner than that adopted in Zanzibar.

Formerly I was inclined to the opinion that the summary method advocated by the Anti-Slavery Society of freeing every one at once by a stroke of the pen was the correct one—the past year's experience has, however, convinced me that such a method would be extremely unwise, and would inflict great hardship and misery on numbers of slaves who are at present happy and contented, without a compensating benefit to the remainder, or to the State.

I divide the slaves into three classes:—

1. There are the skilled workmen, such as masons, carpenters, chukuzi (coolies at Customs), brashara (vendors of food, &c.), vibarua (daily labour at coal godowns, &c.), house boys, water girls, &c., and generally all those who are occupied in town by Europeans, Indians, or merchants of various nationalities, in fact all who are in receipt of regular wages.

2. There are the domestic slaves, those who are constantly employed in the house, or about the person of the master.

3. There is the large class of shamba (plantation) labourers.

The first class are intelligent, industrious, and useful members of the community; with very few exceptions they turn out well, and it is a pleasure to me to have the privilege of registering them as free men and women. They appreciate the advantages of freedom. When questioning such people, I always try to find out if they have any particular reason for deserving freedom, and as a rule this class gives the very good reason of wanting to get all their earnings to

themselves. I cannot recall an instance of cruelty or ill-treatment being given as a reason.

The second class are also intelligent; their industry I am not so sure about. In fact I often feel, in the case of boys, that I am freeing rascals who mean to live by their wits and lead a life of idleness, and in the case of the females, increasing the number of prostitutes in town. More frequently they cite cruelty or ill-treatment as a reason for desiring freedom, but generally, on inquiry, the cruelty consists of having been punished with good reason.

The third class of slaves, the shamba labourers, I also, of course, free at once on request, but I often do so with great regret. The bulk of them are unintelligent, can initiate nothing, are devoid of resource, have no will of their own, no ideas beyond doing as little as possible, and getting as much as possible to eat and drink. Usually they can give no reason whatever for desiring freedom, have no idea of what freedom means, or what they are to do after they are free. In this class, if cruelty be given as a reason, there is more frequently found to be some slight cause for it.

I think, however, every one who has a personal experience of slaves and Arabs in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba will agree with me in stating that cruelty is most unusual, that it is as unjust for us to judge all the Arabs from exceptional cases, as it would be unjust for the Arab to judge the British working-men from reports of Courts in the home newspapers, and believe that their usual Saturday evening pastime was jumping on their wives or beating them with a poker.

It seems to me that the third-class of slaves (and a large portion of the second-class), if suddenly given their freedom, would suffer hardships nearly as great, as they did years ago when they were enslaved.

Then they were torn from their homes without having a word to say in the matter, now they would be turned out of their present houses in an equally arbitrary manner.

During the years that have elapsed since they became slaves, they have settled down and become accustomed to their life, they have their wives and families with them (there is no breaking up of families now by sale), and have usually their own little house and garden.

To turn such people out all at once would be a cruel action on the part of any Government, and crime and starvation would sure to result. At present, if they see a prospect of bettering their lot by being free, or wish to be free without any reason, they have simply to say so and they are free on the spot.

A few months ago I had a peculiar application made to me: about twelve women, formerly slaves of one mistress, came to me a week after I had freed and registered them, asking to be made slaves again and offering to return their tickets.

I, of course, told them I could not do so, and sent them away apparently very disappointed.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

A. ALEXANDER.

REPORT UPON THE ISLAND OF PEMBA FOR 1898.

The Zanzibar Government is to be congratulated upon the satisfactory march of events in Pemba during 1898. It is now just two years since the Decree abolishing the legal status of slavery in the island was promulgated, and, so far, there has been no sign, happily, of the disastrous results which had been anticipated as likely to ensue as a consequence of that measure.

No acute labour crisis has arisen, nor any unmanageable outbreak of violence on the part of the servile population. Last season's clove crop was successfully harvested, and proved one of the best on record. Of crime, there is very little in the island, and the Arabs in most instances have effected a satisfactory arrangement with their slaves.

Before proceeding to consider in detail the slavery question, I would touch upon some points of general interest

[The Vice-Consul then gives a very interesting account of events in Pemba during 1898. These included a serious failure in the crops owing to lack of rain, although, fortunately, the clove crop has suffered less than rice and other cereals; an epidemic of small-pox; the outbreak of the jigger pest; a serious fire which practically destroyed the old town of Weti; public works executed at Weti; the Sultan's visit to the island in December last; an outbreak of theft and lawlessness among the slaves, which was quickly and effectually quelled by a force of askaris, whose presence had a most salutary moral effect both on slaves and owners. The Vice-Consul then turns to the questions which more immediately interest us.]

During the past year there has been no instance, so far as is known, of slave importation into Pemba, and that branch of the traffic may be regarded as quite extinct.

As regards the export of slaves from the islands, considerable activity in that direction was exhibited by various dhow owners during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon of last season, but it is doubtful if any of them succeeded in carrying out their intentions, at all events after the arrival in Pemba of the regular police. The askaris, very shortly after their coming, seized two dhows which were engaged in attempts to carry off kidnapped slaves to Muscat. The dhows in question, which belonged to local Arabs, and both of which flew the French flag, were eventually condemned, and the owners and other principals connected with the transactions were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Those examples had a most salutary effect in deterring others from similar enterprise, and there does not seem to have been any further attempt made to export slaves during the remainder of that season.

The various ports in Pemba are now carefully watched by the regular askaris, and the local waters are efficiently patrolled; so that it is improbable that in future the kidnapping of Pemba slaves for northern markets can be carried out successfully to any great extent.

Considerable anxiety had prevailed amongst the Arabs, and indeed amongst the officials also, as to the probable difficulty of getting last year's clove crop harvested, and many had taken a gloomy view of the prospects. It may be said at once that such forebodings proved entirely unfounded; last season's crop not only was successfully gathered, but the picking was performed with a thoroughness which the Arabs themselves admit had never before been attained. For purposes of comparison, I give the official figures relating to successive clove crops during a period of seven years, viz. :—

Total annual production of cloves in Pemba :—

Quantity in Frasilas.*				Quantity in Frasilas.*			
1892	...	...	236,211	1896	...	...	237,090
1893	...	...	259,367	1897	...	...	240,955
1894	...	...	372,999	1898	...	...	311,342
1895	...	...	391,461				

From these figures it will be seen that last year's returns were good. This is the more remarkable as the crop upon the trees was by no means an unusually heavy one. I have already alluded to the abnormal characteristics of the year 1898 from a meteorological point of view. The failure of the "lesser" rains, which usually may be expected at the commencement of the month of November, had affected the clove trees unfavourably, and in some districts the crop was entirely spoiled. Judged from the standpoint of former years, and judged more especially according to the conditions of labour which had hitherto prevailed, the prospects were certainly not very encouraging. But whereas in former years the picking of the cloves had been performed in so slovenly and incomplete a manner that a considerable proportion, probably not less than a good third, of the available crop had been lost, the operations of last year left nothing to be desired on the ground of thoroughness, and the output represented practically the net crop available. This, it must be admitted, was an unexpectedly satisfactory and a most encouraging result, and, in view of the facts of the case, **it goes far to justify the belief of those who claimed that the abolition of slavery in Pemba would prove advantageous eventually, even as regards the material prosperity of the island.** The Arabs, realizing that they had ceased to have any real hold over their slaves, were wise enough last season voluntarily to initiate an entirely novel policy: they agreed to pay their slaves in cash for every day's work done by them during the clove-picking season, thus practically treating them as free labourers. This acted as a wonderful stimulus to the slaves, who, laying aside their usual habits of indolence, addressed themselves with zeal and energy to a task which, under former conditions of enforced work, had been abhorrent to them. Thus, whereas in former years the amount of cloves which the slaves picked on their days of enforced labour did not average more than 7 to 8 "pishis"† per man per day, during last season they regularly gathered

* A frasila is equal to 35 lbs. avoirdupois.

† A "pishi" of cloves is equal to about 6½ lbs. avoirdupois.

from 10 to 12 pishis, and many amongst them succeeded in picking as many as 14 pishis each in the course of the day.

It was this increase of energy, and of efficiency as workmen on the part of the slaves, which compensated the Arab owner for the outlay involved in paying them for their labour. His crop was picked so thoroughly, and the buds were secured in such good condition as regards development, that his net profit for the season was actually greater than in most previous years.

Payment was made daily by results : in the beginning of the season the rule was 3 pice (a little less than 1d.) per pishi, but the price rose as the season progressed, owing to increased demand for labour, and towards the end as much as 6 pice per pishi were paid by many of the shamba owners. No distinction whatever was made between the slaves and outside free labourers ; all were paid at the same rate, and they worked side by side in good fellowship and without any display of class prejudice.

To freemen and slaves alike, such cash payment was an inestimable boon. The crops throughout the island had entirely failed, as I have stated, owing to the prolonged drought, and it was the money earned during the four to five months of the clove harvest which alone enabled the natives successfully to tide over the famine period.

The payment during last season in cash, instead of in kind, as formerly, for labour in connection with the clove picking, had been suggested by His Highness's Government to the Arabs in their own interests. The object of such suggestion was to protect the shamba owners against the extensive thefts of cloves which they had always suffered in previous years. The custom which formerly prevailed throughout Pemba was for the owner of a clove shamba to pay all free people who assisted in gathering his crop, and also his own slaves who cared to work for him upon their free days, a proportion, usually one-third, but frequently as much as one-half, of the cloves which they picked. That system opened the door to extensive thefts, for the labourers, slave and free alike, found abundant opportunities of helping themselves largely to the green cloves. There was no difficulty experienced in disposing of such pilferings, as the Indian traders, especially those established throughout the shamba districts, were always ready to buy such cloves, without asking embarrassing questions as to the ownership. The thieves, on their side, were willing to accept, in such cases, a price very much less than the intrinsic value of what they brought for sale. Owing to the practice on the part of the shamba owners of paying the pickers in kind, it was almost impossible to check such illicit trade, and to bring home to those Indians the charge of dealing in stolen goods ; and so the Arabs continued to be robbed season after season.

Last year the Arabs, almost without exception, adopted the suggestion as to cash payments for labour, and the Walis, in order to guard against such thefts of cloves, made a regulation to the effect that any native detected in offering green cloves for sale, or of having such in his possession, was to be at once arrested, and

that he would be severely punished unless he could satisfactorily account for his being in possession of the same. The Arabs were informed that in case they themselves might wish to dispose of some portion of their cloves while still green they must, in their own interests, give a written authority to those of their slaves or dependents to whom they might entrust the cloves for sale. The askaris were enjoined to see that those regulations were strictly enforced, and all the Indian traders were notified as to the purport of the new Ordinances, and warned of the penalties to which they exposed themselves by dealing in stolen cloves. Those measures proved entirely successful, and the theft of green cloves was reduced to a minimum during last season.

A few of the Arabs declined to fall in with the policy of their more perspicacious brethren, and tried to work their crops on the old lines, namely, by exacting from their slaves five days' labour in each week for nothing, paying them only on Thursdays and Fridays.

For such shamba owners the result was disastrous: the slaves, after working unwillingly for a short period, ran away, and doubtless obtained paid work elsewhere. To supply their places, even with free labour, was difficult, if not impossible, as all available hands were wanted at that season, and so those obstinate and narrow-minded owners had the mortification of seeing the bulk of their crops spoiling on the trees.

The payment by the Arabs of their slaves did more than anything else to bring home to the understanding of the latter the fact that their lot has been so greatly ameliorated. It had the effect, moreover, of establishing a much better feeling between owners and their dependents. The termination of the clove-picking season at the end of January last found all parties in a satisfied frame of mind. The Arabs had had a good season; the price realized by their cloves had averaged 5 rupees per frasila, and the profits derived therefrom had enabled the majority of them to shake themselves clear in a great measure from the crushing load of debt to the Indian money-lenders which had oppressed them for so long.

The slaves, on the other hand, had been receiving a good daily wage for months past, and had been sensible enough to put aside a considerable portion of their earnings. They had begun to feel, if not more kindly, a little less bitterly against their master, by whom they had been paid that money. The time was opportune for mutual compromise, and in a very large majority of cases a fair and equitable arrangement was arrived at by the parties concerned. The Arabs proposed to their slaves that they should continue to reside on their old holdings, and that, in lieu of rent, they should labour on their masters' shambas for eight hours on three days of each week.

The slaves in most instances accepted those terms, and it is to be hoped that such arrangement may be found to work well, and to prove to be a satisfactory solution for all parties of a difficult problem.

Thus it will be seen that **slavery in Pemba has ceased to exist save in name**. The slaves are fully aware of the purport of the Decree, and are prompt to take advantage of its provisions upon their behalf. For example, a few days

ago a male slave appeared before the Court to lodge a complaint against his Arab master. It appears that the latter had charged the slave with theft, which he denied, and he retorted by calling his master a liar. The master thereupon struck him with a bakara, and the slave straightway applied to the Court. As a matter of fact it transpired that the slave had not committed the theft with which he had been charged. The case was treated as one of common assault, and the Wali condemned the Arab master to a term of imprisonment.

As a result of the successful harvesting of last year's clove crop the Arabs have plucked up their courage again, and have begun to take a more hopeful view of their position. An encouraging feature of the situation is the fact that the value of shambas has risen considerably within the past three months, and many of the Arabs have been investing their profits in new clove plantations

[Here follow the statistics of slaves freed in Pemba, already given in Mr. Farler's Report.]*

As to the disposal of the liberated slaves, His Highness's Commissioner informs me that about 50 per cent. have been located upon the various shambas owned by the Zanzibar Government, or belonging to the Sultan personally; about 25 per cent. elected to return to the shambas of their late owners upon terms mutually satisfactory, while the remainder were taken by the different Missions or found various employments.

The Court also registered during 1898 a considerable number of contracts made between slaves and their owners upon terms similar to those which I have mentioned.

[For the official figures, see Mr. Farler's Report, *supra*.]

Those official figures do not, however, by any means represent the total of such contracts. In very many cases the slaves and their owners have arrived at an understanding and entered into an agreement without troubling the Court. This has been the rule more especially during the past three months, following upon the termination of the clove picking.

The official figures for the first quarter of the present year are as follows, viz. :—

TOTAL of slaves freed in Pemba during the quarter ended the 31st March, 1899 :—Males 406, Females, 501, Children 68; Total 975.

The total of female slaves freed includes seven concubines "redeemed with the sanction of the Court."

The remarkable increase in the number of applicants for freedom during the first quarter of this year is doubtless to be explained by the fact that, during the last four months of 1898, the slaves were busy picking cloves and those amongst them who desired manumission preferred to wait until the season was over.

The Court devotes four days in each week to the registering and freeing of slaves. Cases are taken in rotation, and, when there are more applicants on any

* [The total for the year 1898 given by Mr. Farler as 1,516 appears here as 1,561. There is probably a clerical error in one case or the other.—Ed. *Reporter*.]

given day than the Court can deal with, those are taken first on the following day. Meanwhile the Government provides work, at a fair wage, for all such slaves as have applied for and are awaiting their manumission. One day a week is devoted to the assessment of compensation. With regard to this question of compensation, I would venture to direct attention to the fact that the method at present adopted for the identification of the slaves freed constitutes no adequate protection against subsequent loss to the Zanzibar Government through possible claims of a fraudulent and collusive nature, which may be preferred later on

The actual number of slaves who, up to the present, have taken advantage of the Decree to obtain their freedom is certainly very small in proportion to the total servile population of Pemba. The explanation is to be found in the fact that **slavery has ceased to exist in the island save in name**, and in the mental attitude of the slaves as a body, who, being in possession of the substance, are quite indifferent about the form.

(Signed) D. R. O'SULLIVAN-BEARE.

PEMBA, *March 31st*, 1899.

Fresh Obstacles to Emancipation in Pemba.

Just as we are going to Press we greatly regret to hear that fresh difficulties have arisen in the island of Pemba in the progress of Emancipation, owing to a new regulation which came into force in April last. The correspondence forwarded by Mr. H. Armitage, of the Friends' Industrial Mission in Pemba, to the head-quarters in London, shows that, in order to check vagrancy among freed slaves, the local officials have enforced certain conditions precedent to granting freedom to any slaves, which have practically brought the Emancipation process to a standstill. The authorities now insist that all slaves desiring freedom must first show to the satisfaction of the Court that they have agreed with some employer for work; they must bring with them this employer or some responsible person, or a letter to state that they (the proposed employers) will be responsible for the future of the freed slaves settling on their land, and will give them land to cultivate. The employer's name is then registered, in Mr. Commissioner Farler's words, "as responsible for the well-being of the particular freed slave."

The authorities rely on Article IV. of the 1897 Decree, which provides that "Any person whose right to freedom shall have been formally recognised under the preceding Article shall be bound, on pain of being declared a vagrant, to show that he possesses a regular domicile and means of subsistence," and they appear to interpret the first words as equivalent to "any slave who applies for freedom."

This strained interpretation of the Article has resulted in such a diminution of the number of persons freed since the regulation came into force that, according to Mr. Armitage's report, very few slaves now receive their liberty.

Mr. Consul Cave however, in replying to Mr. Armitage, denies this, and admits that "if it could be substantiated, the statement would mean either that H.M.'s Government, or that of the Sultan, or the officials appointed by them, were seeking to evade the consequences of their own enactment."

Mr. Commissioner Farler states that the smaller number of slaves freed is due to the heavy rains. "The rule," he writes, "has worked admirably, and the slaves have found no difficulty in getting a patron and a new home." The new regulation, by which employers have to pledge themselves for the future good behaviour of the slaves freed, and are then registered by the Court, appears to come unpleasantly near introducing a form of the apprenticeship system, which is but another and milder form of slavery, and was decisively rejected by the Government in 1897.

The Committee of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY propose to approach the Foreign Office with inquiries on the subject of the correspondence which has been forwarded from Pemba.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

LETTER FROM BISHOP TUCKER.

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,—Your kind indulgence in publishing several letters of mine dealing with the subject of slavery in British East Africa moves me to trouble you with yet one other.

The debate in the House of Commons on March 22nd is remarkable for two things. The first is a statement by Mr. Brodrick as to the necessity for further delay in carrying out Mr. Balfour's pledge to abolish slavery on the mainland "at the earliest practicable moment." The second is an attempt on the part of the Attorney-General to explain away his *dictum* as to the illegality of British subjects taking part in the restoration of fugitive slaves to their masters.

I. Before dealing with Mr. Brodrick's plea for further delay, suffer me to say a few words by way of criticism on the unhappy and (as I cannot help feeling) inconsistent attitude taken up by the Attorney-General. In the course of his speech on the occasion in question he made use of these words (I quote from *The Times'* report on March 23rd):—

He had already said in the House, and he desired to repeat it, that if British subjects anywhere in the world were themselves concerned in the sending back and restoring to slavery persons who were claiming to be free, simply because they were slaves, he believed that to be an offence against British law.

Nothing, Sir, could be more satisfactory than such a statement of the case. But, unhappily, the Attorney-General did not stop here. He proceeded at once

to water down a perfectly intelligible and consistent utterance. "That did not mean," he went on to say, "that a British subject was not allowed to express his opinion that a man coming before him in a Court had established his right to slaves." This, of course, was intended, to justify the action of the Mombasa Provincial Court, which was the subject under discussion. In order to show the bearing of these words upon that action, may I briefly describe the constitution of that Court? It is called a native Court. But the only native thing about it is its name. The judge is an Englishman. He is, moreover, a British Consul and Her Majesty's Sub-Commissioner. He is paid by a vote of the British House of Commons. He sits in a Court-house over which the British flag flies. The depositions are taken on paper bearing the Royal arms. The processes of the Court are issued in the name of Her Majesty the Queen. The judge administers by the Queen's command the law laid down by regulations issued under the authority of Her Majesty's Orders in Council. An Arab appears before this Court with, let us say, a slave girl. She has run away from her master and sought shelter at a mission station. The man claims his slave. The woman claims her freedom. The judge hears the case and decides in favour of the master, who at once carries off his slave in triumph.

Now, Sir, I wish to ask a simple question. Can it be honestly said with regard to the action of that judge that he has not been "concerned in" or that he has not "taken part in" the restoration of that slave girl to her master? There can, I venture to think, be but one answer to such a question. It is more than a mere "expression of an opinion" on the part of the judge. At the back of the judge are all the forces of the Protectorate. If there is no intention to use those forces in carrying into effect the decision of the judge, then the whole proceeding is a sham and a farce, and ought at once in common honesty to be abolished as a fraud upon the slave. If, however, on the other hand, there is a forcible carrying out of the decision of the Court, then, I maintain, the whole thing is illegal. The forces of the Protectorate are controlled by British subjects. Not a single policeman can be moved without the consent of Sir Arthur Hardinge, Her Majesty's Commissioner. The British Consul, who acts as judge, and who gives the decision, which is practically an order for the slave to return to slavery, and the British officials who use the forces of the Protectorate in giving effect to that decision, are alike taking part in the restoration of a fugitive slave to her master and are violating that law which, as Mr. Brodrick has well said, "follows British subjects wherever they go."

II. Let me now turn to Mr. Brodrick's plea for further delay in abolishing the legal *status* of slavery within the ten mile limit. He pleads (and again I quote your report of March 23rd) that a general manumission would dislocate the labour market, and adds:—"At the present moment it is impossible for the Arabs to obtain free labour, having regard to the high price which is being paid on the railway." The freed slaves, it is suggested, would all flock to the railway for employment, and "we have no right," says Mr. Brodrick, "in this Protectorate to cause the whole of the lands to fall out of cultivation."

I notice that several questions have recently been asked in the House of Commons as to whether slave labour is being employed in the construction of the railway, and the answer has invariably been in the negative. It is true, no doubt, that slave labour is not being employed on the railway, but in the words which I have quoted above Mr. Brodrick conveys to us the startling information that, on account of the competition of the railway in the labour market of East Africa, all slaves within the ten-mile limit are still to be kept in servitude for the benefit of their Arab masters. What, I should like to ask, is the difference in moral guilt between employing slave labour on the railway (a charge which the Government would indignantly repudiate) and keeping the whole slave population of the East African Protectorate still longer in their servile condition on account of the railway? I confess I can see none, unless it be that the latter course of action is the guiltier of the two. It used to be one of the strongest arguments in favour of the building of the railway that it would do more than anything else to further the cause of freedom. But now we are told by the spokesman of the Foreign Office from his place in the House of Commons that the railway blocks the way to emancipation. This truly is an unexpected result of the prosecution of this great enterprise. Is it possible that the Government intends to postpone the abolition of slavery in East Africa until the railway is completed? Does Mr. Brodrick suppose that the demand for labour will be less than now? It is true that the railway may not need so much labour to keep it in repair as to construct it, but the demand for labour generally on the completion of the line will be infinitely greater than now. Will slavery therefore be further continued on account of that vastly increased demand? These are questions, it seems to me, to which some answer should be forthcoming.

Four years ago it was M'baruk's rebellion that blocked the way to emancipation. Then later the disturbed condition of Uganda was pleaded as a reason for further delay. Now it is the Uganda railway. One wonders what the next excuse will be and how long this sort of thing is to go on. If the consequences were not so sad and serious, such a policy would be almost laughable in its utter weakness and consistent inconsistency. Is it not time that a manly, straightforward policy were adopted—a policy in harmony with the laws and traditions of our country and the sentiments of the nation at large? Such a policy, it seems to me, must necessarily include three things—

1. The immediate abolition of the legal *status* of slavery.
2. The non-recognition or legalization of concubinage.
3. A limit of time, at the expiration of which no further claims for compensation will be entertained.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

ALFRED R. TUCKER,

Bishop Eastern Equatorial Africa.

Uganda, East Africa, May 29. *Times* Aug. 11.

Sir Harry Johnston.

IN accordance with a suggestion made at the last meeting of the Committee, Sir Harry Johnston was asked if he would receive a visit from representatives of the Society before his departure for East Africa as Special Commissioner to Uganda. To this he very readily and courteously assented, and accordingly on the 28th of August, only a few days before he sailed, the Honorary Secretary and the Secretary called upon Sir Harry at his rooms and had nearly an hour of interesting conversation. The President had hoped also to be present, but was unable to arrange it owing to other engagements.

Sir Harry Johnston stated that he was appointed to go to Uganda as Special Commissioner in order to report on the whole position of the Protectorate, financial and otherwise.

The status of Slavery is not recognized in Uganda, and this fact was especially noted in Lord Salisbury's final letter of instructions to Sir Harry, which he was good enough to show us. Domestic slavery, however, without doubt, exists pretty extensively throughout the country.

With regard to the journey to Uganda from the coast, Sir Harry Johnston informed us that the railway then extended about 370 miles from the coast. At present there is no steamer across the Victoria Nyanza, the steamer "William Mackinnon" having been sent out in such large portions that it could not reach the lake.

Sir Harry intimated that he would be happy to re-enter into cordial relations with the Society, and would gladly give such information and assistance as lay within his power. The Committee, at their October meeting, unanimously elected Sir Harry Johnston a corresponding member of the Society.

The future arrangements for the administration of our East African possessions will doubtless be largely affected by the Special Commissioner's Report, and we hope that the ultimate result may be the adoption of a clearer and more uniform Anti-Slavery policy in all these regions which are under British rule.

The following paragraph from the London correspondent of the *Scotsman*, dealing with this subject, is significant and interesting :—

"It is, I understand, not considered probable that there will be any very serious changes made for the present in the administration of our possessions in East Africa. No change is likely to take place so long as Sir Arthur Hardinge, who is a *persona grata* with his chief, remains at Zanzibar, and, further, it is not likely that anything will be done until at least the preliminary report of Sir Harry Johnston on the Uganda Protectorate has been received. But there is a steady and increasing body of instructed opinion which is coming clearly to the conclusion that the amalgamation of the two mainland Protectorates into a single Protectorate is the inevitable solution of the problem. When the present arrangement was made, Uganda was many weeks' journey from the coast, but now that the railway and the telegraph are bridging over

the country between Mombasa and the Victoria Nyanza the problems of administration will be enormously simplified, and there is no reason why administrative headquarters should not be established somewhere in the healthy Kikuyu country, from which point the Commissioner would be within a very short distance both of the coast and of the Uganda end of his Protectorate. This plan is receiving a good deal of backing privately, but an experienced official, who is strongly in its favour, confessed that he would like to see it tried with much less interference from London in matters of detail than is now the rule. The Foreign Office, if he is to be credited, is ridiculously inquisitorial and meddlesome in matters of detail, which should be left to the judgment of the man on the spot. It is not the Foreign Office only, of course, which is open to a charge of this nature, for it is the common charge made by the local official against the office from which he draws his authority, and to which he reports. But the Foreign Office is alleged to be particularly fussy in all matters relating to Africa, for the reason, no doubt, that it is conscious that it is dealing with matters which are somewhat outside its traditional range."—*Scotsman*, Sept. 20th.

The Famine in East Africa.

IN *The Times* of October 2nd, a letter was published from Sir Arthur Hardinge, calling the attention of the public to the very severe famine now prevailing over the greater part of our East Africa Protectorate, the evils of which are aggravated by small-pox and cattle plague. A committee of residents in Mombasa was formed, and a public meeting was held in August last, when a resolution was unanimously passed that, as the distress was beyond the powers of the local Government to deal with, "an appeal should be made to the generosity of the public at home, for funds to help their fellow subjects in distress, relieve immediate starvation and provide for the future." The relief fund of £3,000 granted during the year by the Home Government had proved quite inadequate to meet the need.

Sir A. Hardinge writes that he has the permission of the Foreign Office to address the public and take steps to obtain relief subscriptions, expressing at the same time, the interest felt in the matter by Her Majesty's Government, as shewn by the advances above referred to.

The Church Missionary Society's representatives have been very active in relieving the sufferers, from 500 to 1,000 people having been constantly fed at the Freretown Mission during the past 12 months. The particulars of the suffering and distress are "of a most shocking and heartrending description," and it is estimated by the Mombasa Committee that, in order to make a real attempt to grapple with the distress, tide over the bad months ahead, and provide seed for the next sowing, at least £50,000 will be required. This would be distributed through the agency of the Government Stations and the Missions, and must go

primarily to feed the starving, though relief works would be started as far as possible.

Sir A. Hardinge's letter concludes as follows :—

"A subscription has been started locally (on August 28, one of the members of the committee wrote to me that 4,000 rupees had been collected, but that this was a mere drop in the bucket) and a famine fund opened at the Mombasa branch of the National Bank of India, of which Mr. Black, the manager has consented to act as Treasurer and to receive cheques made payable to 'Treasurer, Famine Fund, Mombasa.'

"Pending the creation of a similar fund at home, which I trust may be shortly accomplished, I would urge those of your readers who may be desirous of showing sympathy with the sufferings of the starving natives of this British African Protectorate to send their subscriptions to this local fund. Immediate assistance is what is most urgently needed."

At the October meeting of the Committee of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, it was resolved that a donation of £25 be sent to the Famine Relief Fund, with the request that it be devoted to the needs of the freed slaves.

PARLIAMENTARY.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *July 28th.*

Mr. BUCHANAN asked the right hon. gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the status of slavery was going to be abolished in Lagos and the Niger Coast Protectorate, as had been done by the Royal Niger Company in their territory.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said he was quite unable to appreciate the distinction which the hon. member drew between the state of things which he (the right hon. gentleman) described as existing in Lagos and in the Royal Niger Company's territory. He was advised that there was absolutely no difference between the state of affairs in Lagos and the Niger Coast Protectorate and that created by the proclamation of the Royal Niger Company. That, he thought, should be a sufficient satisfaction to the hon. member. At all events, as far as he was at present informed, the condition of things was precisely the same.

Mr. BUCHANAN said that this was a legal question. Surely the right hon. gentleman could give him more information.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said that he was quite unable to give any more information.

Mr. BUCHANAN: The right hon. gentleman is well aware that by an administrative decree issued in 1897 the legal status of slavery was abolished in the territory of the Niger Company, and no such decree has been issued for Lagos and the Niger Coast Protectorate. The legal status is acknowledged in those colonies; we want an assurance that it shall be abolished for the future in the whole of Nigeria, and, as he refuses one, I beg to move to reduce the salary of the Colonial Secretary by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed :—

"That item A. (Salaries) be reduced by £100, in respect of the Salary of the Secretary of State."—(*Mr. Buchanan.*)

Mr. J. A. PEASE (Northumberland, Tyneside) : The question is really this. Sir George Goldie, on Jubilee Day, 1897, found it necessary to issue a decree abolishing the legal status of slavery throughout the dominions under his control. We want to know whether in Lagos and the territory which has now been brought into the Niger country under the control of the Colonial Office, it is not necessary for a similar decree to be issued in order that the legal status of slavery may be abolished there.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN : The two hon. gentlemen who have just spoken are under some misapprehension. Lagos is not going to be brought for the first time under the Colonial Office ; it has been so for a great number of years, and during the tenancy of office by successive Governments. It is quite true that with regard to the Niger Company's territory Sir George Goldie issued a proclamation abolishing the legal status of slavery. I doubt whether, under the existing state of matters there, the issue of the proclamation practically made much difference. At all events, I approve of the proclamation in principle, and most certainly I do not intend to make any alteration. The hon. gentleman who last spoke asked whether I considered it necessary in connection with the transfer of the Niger Company's territory to the Government to make some change in Lagos. As far as my information goes, there is no need for any change. If hon. members opposite can lay before me any information which justifies the claim that some change should be made in the state of things which has existed for many years in Lagos, I will consider it, and, if possible, give a favourable reply. I hope the hon. gentleman will not divide the House upon what is really beating at an open door.

Sir CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) : The views of Colonel Lugard, who is the strongest advocate of the abolition of the legal status of slavery, should be taken in account, surely. Could he not be asked if he considers any such step necessary?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN : I am in close communication with Colonel Lugard, and I can assure the right hon. baronet there is no difference between us on the point.

Sir CHARLES DILKE : My only suggestion is as to the territories which have not hitherto been under the Colonial Office.

Mr. BUCHANAN : I have here the proclamation of the Niger Company in which they state that the legal status of slavery shall be abolished. Now the territories of the Company will for the future form part of Southern Nigeria, and you will have slavery abolished in one part and not abolished in another portion. We want an assurance that it shall no longer be recognised throughout the whole of Nigeria.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) : I understand that under the Company's system the legal status of slavery was abolished by proclamation. The right hon. gentleman apparently thinks it does not exist in Lagos, because it is a Crown Colony. It may, however, have existed in Southern Nigeria, and I take it he promises he will look into the matter, and if the legal status of slavery does exist in any part he will see that its abolition is brought about. If that is a correct interpretation of his words I think it is all we are entitled to expect from the right hon. gentleman at the present moment. The point is an important one : it is necessary that the status of slavery should no longer exist in any part of Her Majesty's dominions ; but after the statement of the right hon. gentleman I would not press the matter further now.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *August 3rd.*

On the vote to complete the sum of £497,335 for diplomatic and consular services.

Sir C. DILKE called attention to the question of slavery in Zanzibar and British East Africa. In the former possession, he said, emancipation had been surrounded with conditions which were in some degree disgraceful, and he believed the great majority of the slaves there were illegally held in defiance of the proclamation of the Sultan issued under our instructions. With regard to British East Africa the head of the Primitive Methodist Mission there had drawn his attention to incidents of a similar description to that of the Kombo case, including one in which a member of the mission had been sent to prison for luring slaves away from their owners. It was now stated also that the magistrate who tried the girl Kombo was a finance official, without magisterial experience and entirely dependent upon the Court interpreter.

Mr. BRODRICK said the right hon. gentleman had not brought forward a single new fact in support of a charge which had already been fully discussed. The Government desired that the fullest consideration should be given to all such cases as those mentioned by the right hon. gentleman, and that escaped slaves should not be returned to their masters unless it was proved that not to do so would be a breach of the pledges made at the time the territory was taken over. The report of Sir Arthur Hardinge seemed to him conclusive on the subject. It was evident that every opportunity was given to the persons brought before the Court of objecting if they desired to do so, and that they did not do so until two or three months afterwards was significant.

Mr. GEDGE (Walsall) thought the enforcement of the law for the return of slaves to their masters should be left to the natives themselves. To him it was intolerable that a British Court should have to consider whether a particular person belonged to somebody else.

Mr. BROADHURST (Leicester) thought that the Under-Secretary fully appreciated the gravity of the question he would have long ago put an end to this disgraceful state of things.

WOMEN'S LIBERAL FEDERATION.

The question of Slavery in British East Africa was debated at the Annual Meeting of the Council, held in May last, when

Miss GARLAND (Plymouth), on behalf of Reigate, moved the following resolution, with which the amendment of South Kensington had been combined :—

“That this Council marks with the greatest regret the refusal of Lord Salisbury to grant any of the four points pressed upon him by the Anti-Slavery Society's deputation in January last, with regard to Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba.

“It emphatically protests against the continuance under the British flag of any form of slavery, and urges all Women's Liberal Associations to exert their utmost influence on members of Parliament with a view of securing, not only the

speedy and thorough carrying out of the provisions of the decree of 1897, but also their extension to the neighbouring mainland of British East Africa, and, as regards both territories, the inclusion of women on complete equality with men in all measures now or hereafter adopted for the abolition of slavery."

There are four points to urge. Attention must be called to the very slow progress made in carrying out the Abolition Decree of 1897 in Zanzibar and Pemba. We held a Protectorate over these islands, but the number of slaves freed was only 4,278 out of a population estimated at from 144,000 to 266,000. Secondly, the form of the Decree of 1897 and the mode of carrying it out were hampered by formalities, and the granting of compensation to slave-owners, which rendered the obtaining of freedom very slow. We freed all the slaves in India without a penny of compensation. We should send to Zanzibar a man like John Lawrence. The third point raised by the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society was that the decree was administered mainly by local native officials, mostly slave-owners, in whom little confidence could be placed, and that the British officials there were responsible to the Sultan of Zanzibar. Fourthly, it seemed to be taken for granted by the officials that we could not lightly overturn Mohammedan customs, though in India we had interfered again and again with cruel and superstitious practices, and had put down widow-burning by the strong hand of the law. What the Government had done in India it could do in Zanzibar. One girl, who had been living in freedom for ten years at a mission station, was claimed by her old master, and she, with her parents, who had also been his slaves, was ordered to return to him; and this was done by the authority of the British Acting District Officer. The Attorney-General pronounced it illegal for a British official to have anything to do with the restoration of slaves to their masters. But the British public was not awake on this subject as it had been twenty years ago. The poor Bechuanas had been sentenced to five years' apprenticeship—otherwise slavery—and our Government had allowed it to be done. Perhaps the British conscience had been deadened by the dividends from South Africa. Things were allowed to be done which would be impossible did the British public know of them.

Mrs. CONYBEARE CRAVEN (Widnes) said, that having been in Africa, and known some of the old missionaries—Mackenzie, who had worked with Livingstone, Moffatt, son of the old doctor, and others—it came upon her with shame that such things were carried out in a British Protectorate. The fair fame of England was being smirched all over Africa by the knowledge that the British Government was supporting slavery.

Mrs. AMOS held that we had a right to say what we would have done by England in Zanzibar. It was said that if all women there were allowed to be free, the children of many of them would be called illegitimate. But nothing would ever free those women but our saying that they must be free. Slavery for women always meant the lowest sexual degradation. The children could be legitimised by a stroke of the pen.

The resolution was carried.

Review.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

By The Rev. J. S. DENNIS, D.D.*

THIS book is written as a Sociological Study of Foreign Missions, and attempts "to collate the manifold results of modern missions, and to present in an orderly and comprehensive survey their bearings upon social progress." The scheme is a large one, and the elaborate and exhaustive survey occupies three bulky volumes, which cannot fail to be of value to the students of missions, and to all who believe in the closer inter-connection of Christianity and civilization.

Under the heading "The Social Results of Missions," we find over fifty pages devoted to the connection of Christian missions with the suppression of the slave trade and slavery. The author begins with a brief sketch of the history of the struggle against the slave trade during the last hundred years, a struggle in which he says Great Britain led the van, and other civilised nations followed her lead.

He then touches on the slave trade in East and Central Africa, South Africa, the Congo, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Morocco, and Egypt, and gives an interesting account of the "campaign of missions for freedom" in the West Indies, the general contention being that

"While it is not the function of missionaries to draw the sword upon the slave-trader, it is their high privilege to participate in the extirpation of this cruel business by personal labours in the sphere of benevolent and humanitarian ministry."

and again—

"Wherever Christian missions in their onward movement have crossed the blood-stained trail of the slave trade, they have sought to mitigate its horrors, and have always gladly and often most efficiently assisted in its suppression.

Dr. Dennis considers that the rôle of missions in the overthrow of slavery is not so much direct as indirect—"the cultivation of an anti-slavery sentiment in native minds," and "the mitigation of barbarities"; while he touches on a very important branch of missionary service in the following sentences:—

"It often happens that political and military authorities, in the exercise of their legal right to rescue the victims of the slave trade, or to liberate those who are held in illegal bondage, find themselves embarrassed by the demand for the personal care and training of these unfortunate natives who are suddenly ushered into freedom, with no provision for them in their friendlessness and helplessness. It is just then that the missionary agency steps in with a beneficent ministry, and the offer of a temporary refuge, an industrial settlement or an

* Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier.

educational institution, including the assurance of friendly help and useful training."

In addition to this, missionaries can do much to mould public opinion at home against slavery, and can often bring influence to bear upon Government authorities, if these fail to recognise the rights of humanity towards the native races.

We are glad to observe that the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* has been of use to the author in compiling this work, as his frequent references to it show. He gives a well-deserved tribute to the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, and those connected with the Friends' Mission in Pemba for opposing Slavery in Zanzibar, and especially mentions the forcible utterances and letters of Bishop Tucker, and his conduct of the test case of the slave girl Heri Karibu in the Provincial Court of Mombasa.

The notable work of Cardinal Lavigerie in the Roman Catholic Church is honourably mentioned, and the author remarks that such humanitarian work as is done in Africa by the "Armed Brothers of the Sahara" and the "White Fathers" may be regarded as a set-off against the deadly policy of the Spanish Bishop Las Casas, who did much to inaugurate the African slave trade early in the sixteenth century.

The author, while admitting that the attitude of Christian nations (including our own) towards the slave trade, for over 250 years, was a deplorable one, and constitutes "a dark and dismal chapter in the annals of mankind," rightly contends :—

"It may be historically demonstrated that Christianity, if not indeed the only moral agency, is at least the most effective one which has waged an aggressive warfare upon Slavery."

The author quotes some admirable words of William Knibb, the famous missionary champion of Emancipation in Jamaica, which may well be quoted here, as they paint in true and forcible colours the moral abomination of slavery :—

"The cursed blast of slavery has, like a pestilence, withered almost every moral bloom. . . . The slaves have temporal comforts in profusion, but their morals are sunk below the brute, and the iron hand of oppression daily endeavours to keep them in that ignorance to which it has reduced them. . . . It is in the immorality of slavery that the evil chiefly consists. I can easily account for persons becoming familiarized with slavery, and having a dislike to the slaves, as they are very trying ; but it ought ever to be remembered that this proceeds from the system, and that the owner has a large portion of the blame attaching to himself."
